The Generative Study of Control in Chines
An Integrated Approach

汉语控制的生成语法研究

李京廉 著

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联系电话：010-6403 3862 电子邮箱：haojianhua@mail.sciencep.com

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序

李京廉的博士论文正式出版，这是值得祝贺的事。该书是运用生成语言学的理论来解决汉语语法问题的可贵尝试，为进一步的研讨提供了积极的参考，相信能够引起大家的兴趣。李京廉在山东大学攻读硕士学位时师从胡建华教授专攻生成语言学，写了论“自己”指称问题的句法论文。他来北京师范大学攻读博士学位时，本想继续探讨这一问题，但我认为这个问题大家谈得已经够多，就安排他去探讨汉语语法的其他问题，结果他就把注意力集中到连动句、兼语句等问题上来了。博士毕业后，他又在北京外国语大学中国外语教育研究中心王克非教授指导下从事博士后研究，进一步深入思考这些问题并提炼出新的心得。这种不断进取的精神是可嘉的。

生成语言学虽然是当代语言学的主流和显学，但是它也在不断修正和发展。我和同行翻译过乔姆斯基的著作，但我愧未能亲力投入生成语法的研究。尽管如此，我仍然关注着这个领域的情况。我认为我们应该以兼容并包的态度来看待当代语言学。多年以来，我在研究生教学和论文指导中一直表明我的观点：当代语言学形成了三条路线：结构语言学、功能语言学、认知语言学。结构语言学包括描写结构语言学(老派的结构主义)和解释结构语言学(生成语言学，常自称形式语言学)，还有其他流派。功能语言学可以包括结构功能语言学和社会功能语言学。认知语言学是新近崛起的，还没有定论，但不妨认为包括体验主义派和逻辑主义派；当然也有一些人似乎采取中间立场。从另一方面看，我认为认知语言学应该包括认知语义学、认知语法学、认知语用学。很多人不认为“认知语用学”属于认知语言学；这种排斥态度是不必要的。当然一个研究课题(是否应该)属于什么学科范围，本身并无决定性的意义或价值，重要的是一定要在该课题做出成果。不管大家是否同意我的三条路线的说法，大家当然还是可以各走各的路线。不过我觉得，一个人在“我行我素”时偶或转头看一眼别人怎么走路决无任何害处。

乔姆斯基派不止一次声称他们的语言学实质上是认知研究，过去我们认为他们只是口头上这样做。但乔姆斯基在2002年与人合写了论语言

官能的文章在《科学》杂志发表，开始将其语言生物学具体化，要把句法研究与人的感觉运动系统和概念意向系统挂钩了。尽管如此，他的理性主义或逻辑主义的根本路线是不可改变的。有的同志认为：按照乔姆斯基的新思路去研究生成语法，就可以让这个理论反映出人类语言的完美性。这未免太乐观了。人类语言是否完美、完美又在何处，都并未得到证明。我们只能说，乔姆斯基可以提出新的想法，大家也可以跟着他（或不跟着他）继续探索新的问题。杰肯道夫近年开始放弃乔姆斯基向来坚持的句法自主立场，转而探讨句法语义接口问题。我们把他的路线归结为认知语言学的逻辑主义路线（这不同于雷柯夫等人的体验主义路线）。有鉴于这种趋势，近来我已经不再任由我的那些受过生成语言学基本训练的博士生去搞纯句法研究，而安排他们去搞句法语义接口研究；现在他们已经在这方面做出了国内领先的成绩。

不管从哪条路线前进，无论采取哪个角度来看问题，只要潜心学术（这里说的主要是研究语言学），都是值得鼓励和支持的。李京廉对生成语言学的历史和现状都很了解；他可以在生成语言学的框架内继续拓展其研究兴趣和研究领域，也一定能够得到新的收获。当然，我也期待他能关注句法语义接口问题乃至语言学的其他问题，并也有所成就。

是为序。

北京师范大学外文学院
周流溪
2008 年 5 月

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Abstract

Control can be defined as the relation between the controllee and the controller, to be more specific, between PRO and its controller. This book intends to make a tentative study on the distribution and interpretation of PRO in Chinese within the Principles and Parameters framework.

It is generally held that PRO occurs in the subject positions of the non-finite clauses. However, quite a few scholars argue that the distinction between finiteness and non-finiteness does not exist in Chinese, since there are no morphological features to mark this distinction in this language. If this is really the case, PRO does not exist in Chinese, because Chinese does not have non-finite positions for the occurrence of PRO.

Shi (1995a) puts forward the principle of the one dimentionality of time, which says that only one action is selected when several actions that happen at the same temporal position are measured in terms of time. In other words, if there are several verbs to denote actions happening at the same temporal position in a sentence, only one verb can have grammatical features related to the temporal information, while the others cannot.

Along the lines of Shi's hypothesis, I argue that though Chinese does not distinguish finiteness from non-finiteness morphologically, it can indicate the distinction by lexical means. In addition, Xing (1990, 1995) points out that although Chinese lacks morphological features, its verb phrases can still be divided into two types, that is, dynamic verb phrases and stative verb phrases, based on whether they can be modified by the time adverbials *yijing (yi)* "already", *zhengzai (zheng, zai)* "in the process of", *jiangyao (jiang, yao)* "will", and by tense markers such as *zhe, le, guo.*

The distinction between dynamic verb phrases and stative verb phrases is similar to the distinction between finiteness and non-finiteness in Chinese. Therefore, based on Xing (1990, 1995), I put forward a tentative criterion to mark the distinction between finiteness and non-finiteness in Chinese. The criterion can be stated as follows:

> In a sentence, the verbs that can be followed by the aspectual adverbials such as *yijing (yi)* "already", *zhengzai (zheng)* "in the process of", and *jiangyao (jiang)* "will" are finite verbs, while the verbs that cannot be followed by these aspectual adverbials are non-finite ones.

However, it should be noted that sometimes this criterion is optionally applied to the finite verbs.

According to the criterion proposed above, four Chinese constructions, that is, the pivotal construction, the serial verb construction, the verbal complement construction, and the verbal subject construction can mark the distinction between finiteness and non-finiteness. PRO occurs in the subject positions of the non-finite clauses in the four Chinese constructions.

Then this book makes a research into the interpretation of PRO in Chinese. As suggested by Chomsky (1981), the choice of controllers involves syntactic, semantic and pragmatic factors. Along similar lines, adopting Pan's (1997, 1998) Closeness Condition and Pan's (1998) Compatibility Conditio, this book puts forward an integrated theory for the interpretation of PRO (hence ITIP), which can be formulated as follows:

> PRO selects the closest compatible NP as its controller; if there is no closest compatible NP, PRO selects the less closer compatible NP as its controller; if there is no other compatible NP available, PRO is implicitly or arbitrarily controlled.

Pan's (1997, 1998) Closeness Condition is stated as follows:

> α is closer to X, PRO, than β is iff the path from X to the minimal maximal projection dominating α is a proper subset of the path from X to the minimal maximal projection dominating β.

Pan's (1998) Compatibility Condition is formulated as follows:

> A and B are compatible iff A and B have the same animacy features; the co-indexation of A and B does not violate any syntactic conditions, lexical/ semantic restrictions, or pragmatic knowledge.

ITIP is held to be an integrated theory, because only under the condition that the compatibility condition is not violated, can PRO select the closest NP as its controller. In addition, the compatibility condition is also an integrated condition, which combines the syntactic factor with the semantic and the pragmatic factors.

In this book, we have proved that together with the closeness condition and the compatibility condition, the ITIP can account for the interpretation of PRO in the four Chinese constructions.

Though the ITIP intends to offer an account for the interpretation of PRO in Chinese, we hope that it can also be extended to account for the interpretation of PRO in other languages. However, whether this theory can achieve such a goal or not will be tested by the control facts in other languages.

摘　要

本书在生成语法的原则与参数理论框架内对汉语的控制进行研究，即对汉语空主语 PRO 的分布和释义进行探讨。

PRO 一般出现在非限定小句的主语位置。由于汉语缺乏显性的形态标记，很多学者认为汉语不存在限定与非限定的区分，因此汉语中不存在空语类 PRO。

石毓智(1995a)提出时间一维性原则，这一规则在语言中投影为，如果在同一句子中有多个表示同一时间发生的动词，只有一个动词可以具有与表达时间信息有关的语法特征，其他的动词不能。邢欣(1990, 1995)也认为虽然汉语缺乏形态特征，但汉语的动词仍然可以分为动态动词和静态动词两类，能带时间限制词“已经”(包括“已”)，“正在”(包括“正”、“在”)，“将要”(包括“将”、“要”、“就要”)的动词短语是动态短语，不能带这些限制词的动词短语是静态短语。前者可以带时态助词“着”、“了”、“过”，后者不可以。动态动词动词可以单独做谓语，而静态动词短语不可以。

本文认为虽然汉语在形态上不存在限定与非限定的区分，但它可通过词汇手段标记这一区分，并基于以上观点，尝试性地提出区分限定与非限定的标准：在小句中，能够被体副词(aspectual adverbial)“已经(已)”、“正在(正，在)”和“将要(将)”修饰的动词为限定动词，不能被这些体副词修饰的动词为非限定动词。根据这一标准，汉语中的兼语结构、连动结构、动补结构和动词主语结构中存在限定与非限定的区分。值得注意的是，限定从句跟体状语是可选的，有的限定从句因为主句动词的特性而不能跟体状语，但这并不能否定该从句是限定从句，根据以上标准，汉语的兼语结构、连动结构、动词补语结构和动词主语结构存在限定与非限定的区分，PRO 出现这些结构中非限定从句的主语位置。

Chomsky(1981)指出，控制理论涉及许多因素，包括结构因素、动词的内在特性以及其他语义和语用考虑。PRO 的释义亦如此。基于 Chomsky(1981)的思路和 Pan(1997, 1998)提出的邻近条件和相容条件，本文提出了 PRO 释义的综合理论：PRO 选择最近的相容的 NP 作它的

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控制语。如果没有最近的、相容的 NP，PRO 选择较近的、相容的 NP 作它的控制语。如果没有其他相容的 NP，PRO 就受隐性控制或任意控制。

经过验证，PRO 释义的综合理论能够较好地解释汉语 PRO 的释义。

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in this book.

ASP	Aspectual Marker
BEI	The Passive Marker *bei*
CC	Complement Control
CECIR	Controlled Empty Category Indexing Rule
CL	Classifier
COMP/C	Complementizer
C-selection	Categorial Selection
CSF	Control Selection Feature
CT-selection	Control Selection
DP	Determiner Phrase
DRP	Disjoint Reference Presumption
ES	Empty Subject
GB	Government and Binding
GCR	Generalized Control Rule
Iff	If and only if
INFl	Inflection
IP	Inflectional Phrase
I-Principle	The Principle of Information
IRC	I-interpretation Rule for Control
ITIP	An Integrated Theory for the Interpretation of PRO
LF	Logical Form
LFG	Lexical-functional Grammar
LRFC	Lexical Rule of Functional Control
MDP	Minimal Distance Principle
MLC	Minimal Link Condition

MM	Modifier Marker
MMC	Minimal Maximal Category
MP	Minimalist Program
M-Principle	The Principle of Manner
NOC	Non-obligatory Control
OC	Obligatory Control
OCECP	Obligatorily Controlled Empty Category Principle
PL	Plural
PP Framework	Principles and Parameters Framework
PREP	Preposition
Q-Principle	The Principle of Quantity
SC	Subject Control
SG	Singular
SM	Shortest Move
SOA	State of Affairs
Spec	Specifier
S-selection	Semantic Selection
TDC	Thematic Distinctness Condition
TIC	Thematic Identity Condition

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